WARMEST SEASON'S GREETINGS TO ALL THE GUARDIAN FAMILY

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THE GHOST AT NATO'S TABLE

New Soviet notes step up world plea for peace parley

By Kumar Goshal

NINE DAYS BEFORE THE HOLIDAY commemorating the birth of the Prince of PEACE, the President and the Secretary of State met with the top leaders of 14 other NATO members primarily to obtain from them missile bases within a rocket's throw of the Soviet Union. On the eve of the conference, however, Soviet Premier Bulganin's urgent proposals for peaceful coexistence forced the Paris meeting into a different framework.

The gathering at Paris had a weird quality. Among the "Big Three," the U.S. was represented by a sick President and a slippery Secretary who must contend with a contrary Congress; Britain by a Prime Minister whose party has suffered severe set-backs in recent by-elections, indicating it did not represent majority British public opinion; France by the Premier of an impotent caretaker government.

Among the others were Turkey, whose anti-democratic and military-minded government has brought the country to the brink of bankruptcy; Canada, which is dragging its feet on U.S. policy; Portugal, a fascist nation; the Netherlands, desperately trying to cling to the remnants of Eastern empire in Indonesia.

From the conference's first day, it was apparent that President Eisenhower's homilies and Secy. Dulles' behind-the-scene maneuvers had failed to win support for basic U.S. policy. Most NATO members were either reluctant about or opposed to missile bases on their soil. Several proposed negotiations with Moscow, and some even suggested unilateral talks between the U.S. and U.S.S.R.

BULGANIN'S PROPOSALS: Six days before the NATO members met, Soviet Premier Bulganin sent similar letters to the President and Prime Ministers of Britain, France, W. Germany and India. Two days later Bulganin sent identical messages to all UN members and to Switzerland, a non-member. He proposed:

- "The substitution of a European collective security pact with the participation of the U.S. for the existing two separate military groupings"—NATO and the Warsaw bloc.
- "A bilateral agreement on friendship and cooperation" with the U.S.
- "The free unrestricted development of trade and other forms of economic ties between countries . . . to develop good relations [and] to restore the necessary trust between the powers."
- "[To alleviate] the present situation . . . a non-aggression pact should be concluded between" NATO and the Warsaw group.
- "In order to normalize the situation

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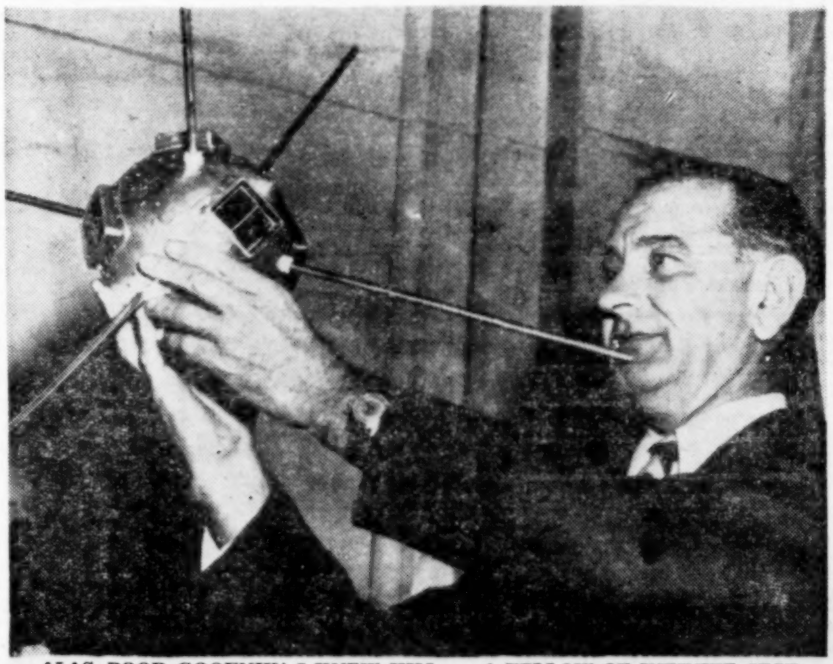

ALAS, POOR GOOFNIK! I KNEW HIM . . . A FELLOW OF INFINITE JEST
Sen. Lyndon Johnson holds the satellite that failed and, Hamlet-like, soliloquizes: "To beep or not to beep; that is the question."

AND THE LEOPARD SHALL LIE DOWN WITH THE KID . . . Isaiah. XI. 6
Nothing can bring you peace, said Emerson, but the triumph of principles. In this season of peace on earth (should we now add "and in outer space"?) to men of good will, there can be no finer dedication than a striving for principles that will end this time of fear and renew the pursuit of happiness.

RESULTS OF AFL-CIO CONVENTION

Labor heads into '58 gales without needed militancy

By Lawrence Emery

THE AFL-CIO's second constitutional convention ended in Atlantic City on Dec. 12 without generating any crusading militancy as labor headed into what may be its worst year since 1947 when the Taft-Hartley law was hung around its neck. The merged trade union movement not only faces another year of investigation by the McClellan committee, but is confronted with the threat of restrictive legislation and stone-wall resistance by employers to new wage and other demands.

The convention was so preoccupied with general charges of corruption made by the McClellan committee that it gave little time to its other problems; resolutions covering a broad range of labor affairs were adopted perfunctorily with little or no discussion or debate.

NEW CHARTERS OUT: In addition to expelling its largest affiliate, the teamsters with about 1,500,000 members, the convention also dropped the bakery workers union with 142,000 members, and the laundry workers union with 72,000 members. Two other unions, the United Textile Workers and the distillery workers, were continued on probation after pledging to comply with federation orders to rid themselves of officers accused of wrong-doing by the McClellan committee.

Two hours after the convention ended, AFL-CIO president George Meany issued a new charter to an insurgent group in the bakers union which claimed the support of some 60,000 members. Locals of the laundry union wanting to remain in the AFL-CIO were promised federal charters. But the convention made no effort to split members of the teamsters union away from their organization.

The expulsions made no one happy, including Meany who had threatened to resign unless the ousters were voted. He said on the closing day of the convention: "The important thing about it is that we have demonstrated that we are reluctant to throw people out of the house of labor. We do it only when there is no other way. We do it in the full knowledge that it presents dangers to us, but with the complete conviction that in the

(Continued on Page 8)

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THE MAIL BAG
USM

Passport rights

NEW YORK, N.Y.

In connection with your fine article on the passport suits (12/2), I would like to point out that at least three of the students returning from China have refused to surrender their passports. They did so presumably on the basis of the court rulings that the State Dept. does not have a right to seize or cancel a passport without charges and hearings. It is true that the State Dept. has paid little heed to these rulings but it is good to know that those students who stood on their rights and refused to surrender their passports were admitted back to the land of the free unscathed.

Clark Foreman, Director,
Emergency Civil Liberties Committee
421 7th Ave., N.Y.C.

Outsmarted themselves

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

If the Russians had been really clever they wouldn't have sent any satellites up at all. They would simply have kept as still and meek and mild as possible, knowing that the depression is closing in on the Western World relentlessly, and that the less disturbance they create, the more surely and quickly the Western World will fall into the ridiculous position of having all its promises and boasts revealed as so much hot air.

But no. They create all the disturbance they can, thus alerting the war-mongers here; and on top of that send up the satellites, thus offering a challenge to the capitalists that will undoubtedly give them a new lease on life.

Al Amery

State of jitters

SPRING HILL, KANS.

The so-called Eastern world, as well as the NATO world, must be highly amused at the high state of jitters Sputnik I and II have created in the minds of our "paper tiger" ruling class. The power and accuracy of the rockets that sent them into outer space has stymied any of the West's hopes of winning the cold war.

Our mighty men of the monopolies know full well they can not win in an economic struggle with the socialist world; force and attrition was their only weapon. What is our hope of a speedy readjustment of mass thinking?

Fifty years of yellow journalism, radio, television, Chamber of Commerce-controlled schools have brought forth a goodly crop of morons, bar-room patriots, religious bigots and multitudes afflicted with car-drive and sex-drive. Such are not listening to the voice of reason, the bright hope of peace and the beautiful song of socialist construction.

We bow with respect to that vast army of dissenters here who have suffered death, imprisonment, exile, unemployment for good principles; they have shown courage and fortitude unsurpassed by the Spartan band who defended the Pass at Thermopylae. However, the real defenders of peace who are in a position to prevent a conflagration are the socialist forces of the world. These forces prevented the Korean war, the counter-revolution in Hungary, the Suez incident and the latest imperialist plot against Syria from spreading.

Otis Wm. Johnson

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

"If a man cannot preserve capital for his children, there is not much point in life," [real estate man John C.] Tysen remarked.

—San Francisco **Chronicle,** 12/3

One year's free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J. Montgomery, Mill Valley, Calif.

Angola—Land of the Free!

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

Our palsy-walsy Salazar, he has his henchmen near and far;
In Goa in the farthest East, in Africa his rarest feast!
Yes, diamonds, coffee, sugar too, Angolans are the people who
For nine to 15 cents a day produce "his" wealth without a say
About the raw hide whip, the stave, that torture the unwilling slave.
No foul mass-murderer too vile to forfeit Foster's ghastly smile!

Veni Vidi

[*See p. 7.*—Ed.]

Something special

BELLE GLADE, FLA.

I'm appealing to some one who knows the history of Russia's so-called satellites. Every time I try to prove to a person that the last thing Russia wants to do is to take another country over by war, especially the U.S., they come back with, "Well they took over their satellites, didn't they?" Then I'm stumped! I feel I ought to know but not being sure I keep silent, and that gets me!

Probably R.M. of Oakland, Calif., will be able to itemize each of those countries explaining how they became socialist countries. He did so well in the Dec. 2 issue of the GUARDIAN on "Russians Won't Attack."

Re your letter stating you were planning to expand the GUARDIAN: I'm against it. I'm afraid it will become just another paper.

We used to take the **March of Progress** (I believe it was called). They did that and we quit it. My husband is one of Henry George's followers and this magazine carried articles along that line.

Then I took the **Journal of Living** for years until it changed hands and turned into just another magazine.

The GUARDIAN is like the **Nation** (which I've taken for about 10 years)—something special. Let's not make it just another paper.

—France Lyngholm

[*(1) The Soviet sphere of influence was determined at the Yalta Conference, not by force of arms. The people changed their own governments. (2) We'll keep the GUARDIAN "something special."*—Ed.]

Sermon

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Here's a New Year sermon I found among some clippings in my desk:

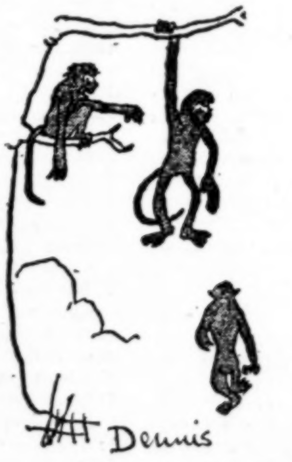
From all forms of race prejudice,
Good Lord, deliver us.
From flaunting our riches in the face
of a poverty stricken world,
Good Lord, deliver us.

From denying to any people, even on some tiny island, those things which we ourselves value, as the right to make their own laws and choose their own rulers,
Good Lord, deliver us.

And teach us to know that all peoples of the world are proud and have something to give, that they will act their best and we can work together when we treat them as equals and friends.

—Margery Ryerson

Amen. **—D. C.**



London Daily Mirror

"Poor chap, he's almost human!"

Sad commentary

MATTAPAN, MASS.

Your editorial of Nov. 11, "The Glass Jaw," is a sad commentary on present day American left politics. It was a great mistake to allow the Progressive and American Labor Parties to dissolve. History will bear that out.

Victor Povirk

Fixed standards

HAVERHILL, MASS.

In the UN or anywhere else, there should exist unalterable standards of right and wrong and double-tongued patriots should not be permitted to blind the people to the logical rightness or wrongness of the measures proposed upon which depend human happiness. **M.I.L.**

Interesting outfit

PORTLAND, ORE.

The Oregon **Labor Press** recently reported the first State Convention of the newly formed Social Security Clubs of America. This club movement was started recently here in Portland by a group of world war veterans and others for the purpose of securing adequate social security and pension payments and for the betterment of all our aged, handicapped, blind and needy. Joseph Harvey, Portland attorney, is president.

Chas. E. Woodward
5003 S.E. 34th Av.

IMPORTANT NOTICE TO ALL READERS

BEGINNING WITH JANUARY, the subscription price of NATIONAL GUARDIAN will be $5 a year, single copy 15c. The increase is compelled by rising production costs under which we can no longer maintain our $3 a year price. Our $1 introductory sub will continue for new readers on a 13-week basis.

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Vol. 10, No. 10 401 December 23, 1957

REPORT TO READERS

A Happy New Year could be up to you

A MERRY CHRISTMAS we can wish you—and we do; but a happy New Year is largely up to you—you and your Congressman. The Friends Committee on National Legislation (Quakers) urges you to use ths holiday period to write to the President urging alternatives to a foreign policy "balanced precariously on the knife edge of terror;" to write to your local paper setting forth your views; and, above all things to arrange PERSONAL VISITS with your Senators and Congressman before they go back to Washington for the opening of Congress Jan. 7.

Labor representatives in Washington tell us that even some of the bad Congressmen complain of no pressure from you when sticky issues are before them. If you have a good Congressman, you're lucky; but in any case you should arrange a visit, good or bad, alone or with a group.

Here are a few things on which to pound the table:

- **The Quakers propose** that the U.S. should "turn away from a policy of attempting to achieve peace through military strength and toward a policy of peace through negotiation, disarmament, friendship, strengthening the UN and moving in the direction of world law." Thousands of top-drawer Americans have urged this, too—among the latest financier Cyrus Eaton (who says "the longer we put off finding a common ground the tougher it's going to be to find"); former Ambassador to Russia George F. Kennan (who says that strengthening NATO cannot be a substitute for negotiation, nor does NATO even exist for negotiation); Marriner S. Eccles, former Federal Reserve Board chairman and now a Salt Lake City banker (who says we need new top leaders, peaceful coexistence with the Communist world and recognition of China); Canadian Lester B. Pearson of UN fame and a recent Nobel Peace Prize winner (who says negotiation is not appeasement and that "if total and unremitting hatred of Communism were the only test of loyalty to democratic ideals, Hitler would be the greatest democrat of all time."); and General of the Army Omar H. Bradley (who urges "an accord or compromise which will make it possible for mankind to control the atom and ban it as an instrument of war.")

- **The Quakers also urge,** among other needed Washington actions, that the President should call off the Eniwetok nuclear tests scheduled for April; and that our concentration should be "more on developing the frontiers of the human spirit and less on the frontiers of science." This may require the hardest sell of all.

WE WOULD ADD that you buck up your Congressman to support the several Supreme Court decisions restoring civil liberties and taking the heat off the foreign-born in our country. Specifically, they should kill H.R. 9532, Rep. Francis E. Walter's omnibus bill to destroy the effect of the Supreme Court decisions and spark a witch-hunt that would curl even Joe McCarthy's hair.

Also, your Congressman should be urged to stand up and be counted in January against any appropriation for Rep. Walter's House Committee on Un-American Activities. The American Civil Liberties Union, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee and a cluster of newspapers all over the country join joyously in this proposal or in variants of it, such as abolition or "cancel the mandate." Rep. Roy Weir (D.-Minn.) says: "The cure for the whole controversy . . . is to wipe out the Committee." Minnesotans should urge Weir to drop a bill in the hopper to that effect. It's about time. The Committee will be 20 years old next year and, as **Labor's Daily** says, "the best birthday present we could offer it is, in two words: its demise."

Finally, if you don't mind supporting a bill by a Silk Stocking Republican, you might nudge your Congressman on H.R. 7141, offered by Rep. Katherine Pelham St. George (R.-N.Y.). This bill would remove the limitation on outside income which an individual may earn while collecting Social Security. Presently 9,000,000 Americans 62 or older are restricted to $1,200 a year beyond their social security benefits. Of this number, 1,250,000 have been denied pensions their own contributions have paid for because of earnings in excess of $1,200, while 250,000 more have refused hard-earned benefits in order to keep working at jobs that bring more than $1,200.

This would be the nicest holiday gift possible for our Senior Citizens. We know you'll include this in the package when you go calling this season.

—THE GUARDIAN

TAFT-HARTLEY CASE OPENS JAN. 6

U.S. tests new 'conspiracy' gimmick in Cleveland trial

A UNIQUE first-of-its-kind trial on a charge of conspiracy to file false non-communist Taft-Hartley affidavits is scheduled to begin in Cleveland on Jan. 6. Eight persons are under indictment. Eight others, all known as leaders of the Communist Party, are named as co-conspirators but are not defendants.

Of the eight indicted, only two are charged with falsely signing affidavits. They are Marie Reed Haug and her husband, Fred. Mrs. Haug was business representative for several years for Local 735 of the independent United Electrical Workers and presently holds that post with Local Lodge 2155 of the Intl. Assn. of Machinists AFL-CIO, the successor of the old UE local. Mr. Haug was formerly associated with both the UE and the independent Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers.

A third unionist, Eric Reinthaler, formerly held several posts in UE Local 735 but is not charged with signing an affidavit. The other five defendants are Edward Joseph Chaka and Hyman Lumer of Cleveland; James West and Sam Reed of Chicago; and Andrew Remes of New York.

ERIC REINTHALER
A test case

AN UNUSUAL TWIST: The eight named as co-conspirators but not indicted are Gus Hall, John Williamson, Steve Nelson, Sidney Stein, Martin Chancey, Frank Hashmall, Joe Brandt and Anthony Krchmarek.

The case is exceptional because it is the first time the conspiracy statutes have been used in a Taft-Hartley prosecution in an effort to link active unionists with CP leaders. (Several members of the Mine, Mill union are under similar indictment, but no action has yet been taken to bring them to trial). The Cleveland indictments were obtained on Jan. 23, 1957. A successful use of the conspiracy laws in such a case now would give the Justice Dept. a new area for prosecution and compensate it for recent court decisions restraining witch-hunters.

THE "OVERT ACTS": The original indictment was so vague that the defendants could not determine what they were accused of. Among the "overt acts" charged, all of them listed as occurring in 1952, were these:

- James West "did appoint and designate Edward Joseph Chaka . . . as a secret courier to maintain communication with, as members of the Communist Party USA, certain persons who had made false non-communist affidavits."
- Hyman Lumer "did . . . issue Communist Party instructions for Marie Reed Haug and Fred Haug."
- James West "did issue a Communist Party directive."
- Fred Haug "received a Communist Party directive."
- Chaka "did carry out a Communist Party directive."

The defense demanded a bill of particulars and Federal District Judge Paul C. Weick directed Sumner Canary, U.S. Atty. for the Northern District of Ohio, to spell out some of the accusations.

UNDISCLOSED NAMES: On Chaka's role as "secret courier," Canary said the names of persons he was supposed to maintain communications with "were undisclosed." He also said that other false affidavits had been made in Dayton, Cincinnati, Mansfield, Canton, Akron. Steubenville and Toledo. Both answers suggested that the government plans a wide dragnet if the present prosecution is successful, because only the Haugs so far have been charged with false affidavits. They also suggested that other unions besides UE and Mine, Mill will be involved because in many of the cities listed neither union has a local.

Canary made these further revelations:

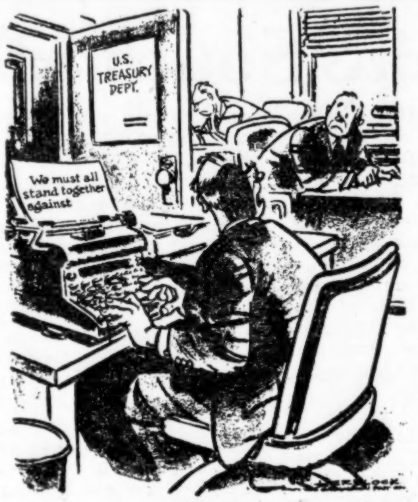
"Fred Haug received a Communist Party directive to intensify the use of Local 715, Intl. Union of Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, as a means of aiding and supporting the Cleveland branch of the Natl. Negro Labor Council."

"Communist Party instructions were received by Marie Reed Haug to use Local 735, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, as a means of supporting the Civil Rights Congress, the Cleveland branch of the Natl. Negro Labor Council and the Progressive Party."

"Communist Party instructions were received by Fred Haug concerning the reading of Marxist-Leninist classics."

"James West directed an automobile to be purchased . . . Directive was issued to Edward Chaka and Halbert Baxter and it was orally delivered . . . Edward Joseph Chaka participated in the selection of an automobile. . . . It [the directive] was carried out at Central Chevrolet, Inc., Cleveland, O., in both an oral and written manner."

EVIL CAN BE DONE: Canary did not spell out how any of these acts contributed to a conspiracy to falsify T-H affidavits, but that is the nature of conspiracy charges. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas has said: "The doctrine of conspiracy has served divers purposes and in its broad reach can be made to do great evil."


U.S. TREASURY DEPT.
We must all stand together against

Herblock in Washington Post
"What are we fighting now— inflation or deflation?"

Canary, in opposing a demand for a bill of particulars from defendant Sam Reed, made this argument: "An act may be an innocent or insignificant act, but if done in the furtherance of the conspiracy such an act becomes an overt act. Therefore, in the face of the present order it would be necessary for the government to outline on page after page every single detail of its evidence against this defendant. Such a procedure would be necessary because the government could not at its peril determine in advance which bits of evidence might become overt acts. If a bill of particulars is filed, the law seems to be that the government is bound by such bill of particulars in the nature and extent of its proof. Such a burden ought not be placed upon the government at this stage of the trial . . ."

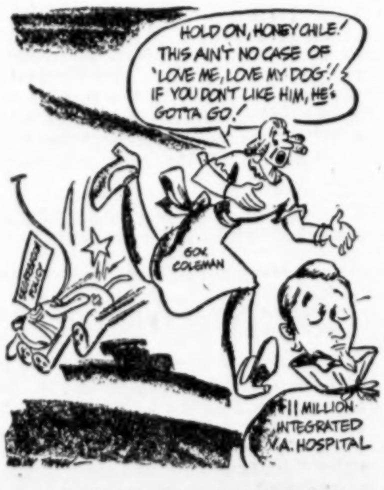
APPEAL FOR FUNDS: The Haugs are being defended by former Congressman Stephen M. Young of Ohio and David Scribner, New York labor attorney. Reinthaler is represented by Fred H. Mandel, former Asst. U.S. Atty. and past president of the Cuyahoga County Bar Assn. The other defendants are represented by court-appointed lawyers.

The eight are appealing for funds to meet enormous legal costs (the trial is expected to last at least a month). The Haugs and Reinthaler are represented by the R-H Defense Fund, Tom Degnan treasurer, Local Lodge 2155, Intl. Assn. of Machinists AFL-CIO, 1205 Superior Ave., Cleveland.

The other five are being helped by the Provisional Committee to Aid Victims of Taft-Hartley, 189 W. Madison St., Rm. 402, Chicago 2, Ill. The Chicago committee urges letters to Atty. Gen. William P. Rogers, Washington, D.C., asking him to dismiss the indictments.

Will 'Ole Miss' take the cash?

THE NEGRO PRESS got off a hearty editorial chortle last week after Mississippi Gov. J. P. Coleman reiterated his support for the building of a veterans hospital in Jackson, the state capital.


HOLD ON, HONEY CHILE! THIS AIN'T NO CASE OF 'LOVE ME, LOVE MY DOG'! IF YOU DON'T LIKE HIM, HE'S GOTTA GO!
GOV. COLEMAN
$11 MILLION INTEGRATED V.A. HOSPITAL

Tapley in the Amsterdam News

It all started two years ago when Mississippi began negotiations with the Veterans Administration for construction of the facility. The Federal government would provide $11,000,000 for the buildings and equipment if the state made available a 30-acre site.

The usual red tape seemed out of the way when "Ole Miss" was faced with a real poser: Federal policy required integration of white and Negro vets in the hospital. The citizens Councils said never! A special session of the legislature is currently considering a bill to cancel the state's authority to donate the land.

But Gov. Coleman threatened to veto the bill if passed and on Dec. 3 took his case to the people on TV. He warned: "It would be an easy thing for them to switch this hospital to Memphis if we made what they considered unreasonable restrictions . . . I am personally in favor of it."

The outcome remained in doubt, but the Pittsburgh **Courier** surmised that "like Omar Khayyam they will take the cash and let the credit go." Then it asked: "What is the difference between an integrated hospital and an integrated public school?"

POWELL-SCHUMAN CASE

U.S. bars pact with China on judicial aid

Special to the Guardian

SAN FRANCISCO

LEGAL AND DIPLOMATIC moves in the 18-month-old Powell-Schuman case reached a new stage as defense attorney A. L. Wirin prepared to fly to China early next month to gather evidence for his clients to disprove the government's charge of sedition.

The sedition indictment was brought against John W. Powell, his wife Sylvia, and Julian Schuman by the Dept. of Justice on the basis of articles published in the Shanghai magazine, **China Monthly Review**, during the Korean war. Powell was editor and publisher of the **Review.**

Whether Wirin will succeed in interviewing the Chinese witnesses whose testimony is considered essential to the defendants' case remained in doubt. Chinese authorities made it plain that while the lawyer will be granted a visa upon entry, "there would be no way for [a] Chinese court to take charge of his interviewing Chinese witnesses and procuring evidence" in the absence of an agreement on judicial assistance between the U.S. and China.

TALKS IN GENEVA: All attempts of the Chinese government to reach such an agreement have been rebuffed by U.S. authorities. The latest Chinese initiative took place Dec. 12 at the Chinese-American talks in Geneva's Palais des Nations, European headquarters of the UN. Wang Ping-nan, Chinese negotiator (he is ambassador to Poland), proposed that the two countries exchange judicial assistance "on the basis of equality and reciprocity." His U.S. counterpart, Ambassador to Czechoslovakia U. Alexis Johnson, rejected the offer. In doing so, he followed the Dept. of Justice line that an agreement on legal procedures in the Powell-Schuman case would be "an opening wedge to force diplomatic recognition by this country."

Last week the Geneva talks were adjourned indefinitely because of the impending transfer of Ambassador Johnson to Thailand. There was little likelyhood, therefore, that the question would be settled in time to affect Wirin's mission in China.

The State Dept., after two refusals, validated Wirin's passport on Nov. 20 for travel to China. It did so only after Federal Judge Louis E. Goodman threatened to throw the case out unless the defendants were enabled to present evidence showing that the magazine's articles were printed in good faith and without "criminal intent." The case is scheduled to come before Judge Goodman again on Jan. 6 for a new trial date.

UN-AMERICANS UNDER FIRE

L.A. group demands hearing on committee

A DEMAND for an open hearing in January, 1958, before any further money is appropriated for the House Committee on Un-American Activities has been made to every Congressman by the Los Angeles Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms, headed by Rev. A. A. Heist.

The hearing would be before the House Administration Committee of which Rep. Omar Burleson (D-Tex.) is Chairman and would give the public an opportunity to state if they favor spending more than $300,000 a year on the controversial committee which has been the subject of increasing criticism, Dr. Heist said.

He pointed out that in the Watkins decision the Supreme Court said: "We have no doubt that there is no congressional power to expose for the sake of exposure."

The white South takes a look at its soul

One of the exceptional treats at the GUARDIAN's anniversary dinner Nov. 21 were the remarks of Anne Braden. Mrs. Braden and her husband, Carl, freed in the Louisville, Ky., sedition case, have become field secretaries of the Southern Conference Educational Fund. In this capacity they continue to carry forward the work closest to their hearts—winning the South to integration and democracy. Mrs. Braden has written a fine and challenging book about the effects of this battle on the lives of the Southern people. It will be published by Monthly Review Press in the spring. Following are excerpts of Mrs. Braden's remarks at the GUARDIAN dinner.

By Anne Braden

NOW THAT THE SEDITION AFFAIR in Louisville is over and we are no longer a "case," I know of no particular reason why I should be making a speech. I presume, however, that I have been asked to speak because I am a white southerner who, like the GUARDIAN, is unequivocally opposed to segregation in all its forms.

I would like to be able to say to you that when I express my views on this question I am speaking for the majority of white people in the South. But you and I know that this is not so.

And yet, I would like to bring a message of hope from the South. I am sure that what I will say will seem to some of you to be polyannish. But I believe, firmly and earnestly, that there is more reason for hope in the South at this time than there has ever been before.

There is hope not only for the obvious reasons—that history is being made there, that things are moving there, that the Negro people are organizing and are making gains. But there is also a deeper reason for hope because of another kind of history that is being made in the South—in the human soul.

It is being made among the Negro people—in the kind of passive resistance movement they are building, in the sort of people they are becoming, in the kind of leaders they are developing. They are attaining a moral stature that is far beyond anything yet even dreamed of by any other group in our country, North or South. At a time when corruption marks so much of our society, here is the one thing that is good, that is creative, that is growing.

And I think that history is also being made in the souls of the white people in the South. The white South is searching its conscience today as it never has before. It has to. The very moral quality of the Negro people's movement is forcing it to. It used to be that white people in the South could sweep this problem under the rug, look the other way, not think about it. They can't do that anymore.

I CAN TELL YOU that there is more turmoil right now inside the white people of the South than there was in all the mob at Little Rock. And I think this is healthy. I don't think it ever hurts **anybody** to do a little searching of his own conscience, and I am not sure that this is something that is going on in all parts of our country at this time. I know that out of the current soul-searching there will be some white southerners who will emerge with their belief in segregation fortified and their resistance strengthened. But there will also be many, many more who will come out of it with a new viewpoint, a new set of beliefs, and a new way of life. And I believe we will all live to see the day when our region may lead the rest of the country in the field of human relations.

THE CLOSING OF A CHAPTER

It happened in Cincinnati: The story of Ted Berry

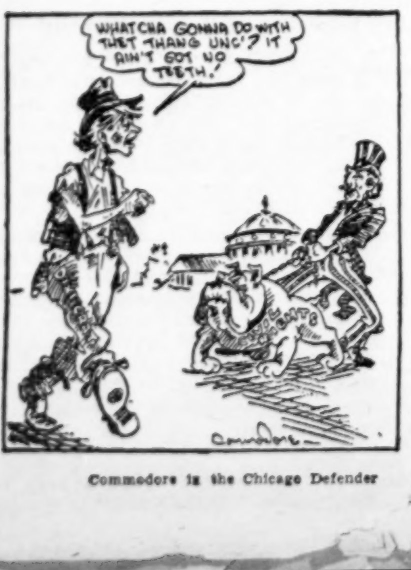
By Louis E. Burnham

THIRTY YEARS AGO a coalition of Democrats, independents and liberal Republicans launched a campaign to rid Cincinnati of the corruption and mismanagement that had been the city's fate under stranglehold Republican rule in the Twenties. They fought through an amendment to the city charter providing for (1) a small council; (2) an appointed city manager and, (3) elections by proportional representation.

They called themselves the Charter Committee and over the years won the applause of government experts for their serious attempt to solve the knotty problems of municipal growth. No one could confuse the Charterites with radicals, but they usually provided a welcome alternative for progressive voters; they were a breath of fresh air in the fetid Ohio political atmosphere so effectively polluted by the late Robert A. Taft. They even took advantage of a rift in the Taft dynasty by counting among their leaders Charles P. Taft, brother of "Mr. Republican."

FOR 22 YEARS: Among the earliest and most significant fruits of the Charterites' crusade was the ending of lily-white government in a city with a large and growing Negro population. In 1940 Negroes were 12.2% of the total Cincinnati population; today they are 95,270-strong (18%).

For 22 of the last 26 years Negroes have been represented on the nine-member council by one of their spokesmen. The most able and vigorous of these was Theodore M. Berry. Elected first in 1949, Berry was returned to office in three successive elections. He served the council as majority floor leader, vice mayor, chairman of the finance committee, and chairman of the Housing and Urban Redevelopment Committee.


WHATCHA GONNA DO WITH THET THANG UNC'? IT AIN'T GOT NO TEETH!
Commodore

Commodore in the Chicago Defender

Aside from his official duties, Berry fought for civil rights and liberties throughout Ohio and all over the nation. In 1956 he headed a state campaign for a fair employment practices bill; he was connected with the Ohio Civil Liberties Union and is a member of the boards of directors of NAACP and the Cincinnati Urban League.

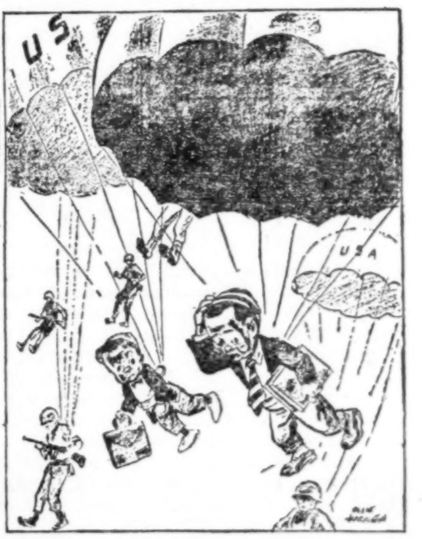
HIGH MAN IN 1955: Ted Berry did not stand alone for progress on the Council. Proportional representation also elected other spokesmen for popular interests who would not otherwise have had a chance. In 1953 the Charterites elected Albert C. Jordan, a local labor leader, and Mrs. Dorothy N. Dolbey. Mrs. Dolbey had led a delegation of United Church Women to Washington to tell President Eisenhower they deplored McCarthyism.

But Berry led all others in the quality and continuity of his progressive service. As a result, in 1955 he polled the highest vote for the Council and would ordinarily have been named Mayor when the Charterites organized the government. The Mayor of Cincinnati is largely an honorary office, but his colleagues felt the city was not ready for a Negro mayor, however talented—however honorary. Berry deferred to Charles P. Taft and became vice mayor.

Even this was too close for comfort for the GOP Old Guard. They had never stopped sniping at PR. Now they set out in earnest to defeat it. This past Sept. 30, in a special election, they succeeded. Then one more major obstacle stood in the way of old-fashioned, iron-fisted, big business rule of Cincinnati: Ted Berry.

VERY BIG BUSINESS: The Negro legislator had fought against high municipal taxes, increases in transit and electric rates, and for equal job opportunities for Negroes. Big business didn't like this; and Cincinnati has some pretty big business, including Secy. of Defense Neil H. McElroy's Procter & Gamble Co. ($68,000,000 profit after taxes in 1956).

Berry was also a prime mover in a program for urban redevelopment. Cincinnati, like many American cities, is disintegrating at its center: the main shopping areas is surrounded by residential slums in which, by conservative estimate, 40% of the houses are substandard. The slums are tenanted largely by Negroes. How to renew the core area and how to relocate Negroes from the basin of the Ohio river to the hilltops was a major concern of Ted Berry.



Harrington in Pittsburgh Courier

"No, I ain't scared; but you gotta admit that this is one heck of a way to get an education!"

It also became the focus of one of the nastiest campaigns in Cincinnati history. Rumors spread that Berry said "he would put a Negro family in every block in every white neighborhood." He, himself, was reported to be buying homes all over the city to break down jimcrow. He answered that if all the rumors could be credited he would own property in every middle and upper income neighborhood in town. Leaflets, addressed to white voters, proclaimed that Negroes were getting too pushy and cited the Little Rock crisis as an example. Describing the campaign, Berry stated: "Suspicions, doubts and anxieties have been aroused; a low level of racial tolerance suddenly appears in the community which brings shame and earnest concern to thoughtful citizens."

THE "NINE-X" SYSTEM: The "low-level of racial tolerance" also brought defeat to Ted Berry in the Nov. 5 election. He ran 15th in a field of 18 candidates for nine council seats. In the new "nine-X" voting system each voter is entitled to vote for nine candidates and the Council is composed of the nine receiving the most votes.

The Negro electorate which had swept Berry into office under PR with its first-choice votes, continued its support: in six wards where Negroes predominate Berry got 20,242 or 70% of the votes cast. In the remaining 20 wards he received 29,980 votes, about 24%. The total gave him about 3% of the total number of choices on the 140,825 ballots cast. The turnout in some Negro neighborhoods was disappointing—only 40% of registered voters in some wards—but even if it had been 100% it could not have staved off defeat. What was needed, and what was missing, were the votes of white Cincinnatians who benefitted from Berry's eight-year services.

END OF AN ERA: Ted Berry made a farewell speech to his colleagues in the Council. He asked them to "mark this day as an end of an era, the closing of a chapter in the political development of the Negro citizenry in Cincinnati." The Negro, he said, "one group to which representation means civic identification with the affairs and progress of the total community now is disillusioned, rebuffed and cut off by the power of a dominant majority."

He warned: "Other groups agitated by fears of neighborhood changes resulting from the city's physical development may be emboldened to actively resist the necessary movement of people into new living areas." He urged that the Mayor's Friendly Relations Committee, which he had helped establish 15 years ago, be enlarged in function "to reach not only leaders, but the mass of citizens with the tools of harmonious community living."

THE ALTERNATIVE: As Berry left the Council, political commentators speculated: would a Negro ever be elected again under the nine-X system? The consensus seemed to be yes—but. Yes, he could be elected, but he would have to be the hand-picked choice and pliant tool of the political machines. The machines need the Negro vote; under any electoral set-up it's a big balance of power in a city almost one-fifth Negro.

None of the political writers of the big Cincinnati dailies suggested an alternative which would enable Negroes to answer the question "yes" with no buts—that Negroes, trade unionists, peace groups and the civil liberties people might reject the "balance of power" concept and form a progressive coalition of which the Negro vote is an integral and indispensable part. It seemed unlikely that the damage done by the elimination of PR and the defeat of Ted Berry would be repaired in Cincinnati until that happened.

Maladjusted? Congratulations!

"There are some things in our social system to which I am proud to maladjust and to which I suggest that you, too, ought to be maladjusted. I never intend to adjust myself to the viciousness of mob-rule. I never intend to adjust myself to the evils of segregation and the crippling effects of discrimination, and I never intend to adjust myself to the tragic inequalities of an economic system which takes necessities from the many and gives luxuries to the few. I never intend to become adjusted to the madness of militarism and self-defeating methods of physical violence. I call upon you to be maladjusted, too."

—**Rev. Martin Luther King, at the** convention of the Natl. Council of Negro Women.

FRAGMENT OF A 20TH CENTURY FESTIVAL

Songs for Christmases on the Brink

By Maurice Ogden

Here published for the first time are the seven collected extant fragments of the controversial "Rubble Manuscripts." Since this collection is presented for reading enjoyment, footnotes have been kept to a minimum and no extensive attempt has been made to deal with the conflicts of scholarly opinion concerning the import of the lost portions of the theme that originally united them. Whether, as some believe, that theme concerns some primitive social institution characterized by massive violence, or whether (as the present editor believes) we read here portions of a once widely celebrated dramatic work of a religious nature, these sparse fragments contain all that we know directly of a remote and colorful period.—Editor)

1.

"Tree'
—All night in the window burned
Our dying tinsel-tree;[1]
All night the great earth turned,
And stars rolled steadily.

2.

Now in the dark streets shrieking
Demented sirens fled;
And frantic in their seeking
The jets cried overhead.

The sirens flee the town around
In anger and despair—
And the Sabres[2] cleave with a slitting sound
The angry upper air.

O rootless, dying tinsel-tree,
How lone you stand tonight—
Above your clean and fragrant green
The Sabres take their flight.

3.

"For Salesmen Everywhere"
Hasten, smiling salesmen![3]
Tinsel stocks are high—
With the badge of virtue
Pinned upon your eye.

O tinsel night, O night of debt,
And pitchmen[3] brightly gleaming;
Submerge the siren and the jet,
And children somewhere screaming.[4]

Your phrases hone, your bit rehearse—
Sell me a blessing, sell me a curse;
Crease your trousers, scent your breath,
Sell me a block of Brink-of-Death![5]

(I've ears to hear and eyes to see—
You need not name your god to me.)

4.

"Bombing Crew"
Armored Christian Soldiers,
Naught have you to fear;
Pilot, Navigator,
Holy Bombardier![6]

Ye three kings of Armament,
Cry up the holiday—
God rest you, Christian officers,
Let nothing you dismay!

(The rubble-heap where the temple fell
Says god has blessed our mission well—
The ashes prove, where the Buddhist died,
The Prince of Peace[7] is on our side.)

5.

"Noel, Antipodes"
Roses, roses in the snow
Blossom in the night below.
Waken, heathen children all,
To a Christmas miracle!

What delights a child's heart more
Than gifts that open with a roar!
Brings the jolly Bombardier
Napalm for your Christmas cheer.

(Children, children, burning bright[8]
Where is your wandering god tonight?)

6.

"Letter from Home"
My heart dries up its fountains,
And perilous you lie,
From fission on the mountains,
And fusion in the sky.[9]

But here in empty stillness,
Apart from sound and sight,
I sense the sacred shrillness
Ringing in the night.

Though you lie down in peril,
And I lie lone in pain,
We'll lift our hearts to carol
When you come home again.

Bid flesh no longer grieve
The fragments of our wrecks—
How pure in the Cyphermas eve
The bells of Googolplex![10]

7.

"Te Deum"
. . . I would have looked upon your face;
Beggars and salesmen packed the place.
I would have heard your voice on high:
Sabres and sirens filled the sky.
I would have sought your holy wrath:
Burning children blocked the path . . .[11]

[1] Tinsel: vegetation (?) divinity; possibly associated with a particular tree.

[2] Aerial homes of the gods Pilot, Navigator, Bombardier; occasionally to be seen streaking overhead, which sight inspired in the faithful an immense sense of security. Sceptics experienced only vertigo.

[3] Priestly cults of Tinsel.

[4] Festive preliminaries at a distance.

[5] Ritual significance, and nature of indulgences sold, unfortunately are details that have not come down to us.

[6] "Holy Bombardier" appears to have been a favorite patron of children — he bears "gifts that open with a roar."

[7] Undependable deity.

[8] Schweinhund has developed an ingenious theory — unfortunately largely speculative —concerning the significance and function of "burning children" in primitive ritual.

[9] Extant texts suggest no plausible explanation for the lovers' separation.

[10] Largest number conveniently expressable in the primitive system. Schweinhund reads the conventional "Xmas" in the previous line. The text is corrupt at this point, and any reading conjectural. I follow Canaille's "Cyphermas" as more compatible with the overall tone. So, also, Gunsel.

[11] This interesting fragment appears to be the plaint of a disillusioned priest or acolyte, and furnishes a tantalizing hint that the role of the controversial "burning children" was a protective one—i.e., that their festively-costumed bodies thronged all avenues by which the faint-hearted or the infidel might seek to approach the god.

ON THE NOVEMBER ELECTIONS

A letter from Detroit

In our issue of Nov. 11, in a Report to Readers entitled "The Glass Jaw," we printed excerpts from a letter from Sarah Lovell concerning her unavailing efforts to mount an independent mayoralty candidacy in Detroit. The Report also commented adversely on the Communist Party's electoral advice to New Yorkers. Considerable reader comment on "The Glass Jaw" has been printed in the Mailbag but some was withheld because it came to us unsigned. The following letter was one; the writer since confirmed it with full identification. We excerpt from it herewith as another view of the Detroit situation, on which we also commented before Election Day on the basis of information from Lovell supporters.

HERE ARE some facts about the recent Detroit election campaign for Mayor and City Council, because your editorial "The Glass Jaw" was very misleading. To begin with, the progressive forces, along with all decent-thinking people in Detroit, have labored long and hard for many years in support of a basic demand of the Negro people to elect a Negro to City Council. We have also supported labor's demand for a union man on the City Council. Councilmen have to be elected by the whole city.

In the past racist groups have been able to block the election of a Negro by mobilizing Klan-like elements to confuse and divide the people. Labor has never been able to overcome the phony non-partisanship of municipal elections so as to be able to elect any but a few mild liberals. Faced with this, Left and Right Negro trade unionists, in cooperation with most other sections of the Negro community, agreed on one Negro candidate, Wm. T. Patrick Jr., a liberal attorney. Then with the help of progressive white unionists they got the endorsement of the Wayne County CIO Council, thus ensuring the support of the much improved (since last election) PAC which can clinch an election in this union town.

IN ORDER TO ELECT a Negro in Detroit we had to muster support from all over. If we had opposed Mayor Louis Miriani, Patrick would have lost because Miriani is a strong political figure here and was backed early in the campaign by large labor groups.

Further the Italians wanted Miriani and they are a large group of voters here, and wield great influence in the AFL and UAW. We cannot forget the Democratic Party here. This city voted 70% Democratic last fall when Ike swept the nation. This is because the Democrats are part of a labor-led coalition with Negro and national groups, small business and farmers. This coalition has gotten results like better unemployment insurance, a state FEPC law, etc. The coalition backed Patrick, who needed that kind of support to win. The proof: Patrick was elected. He finished 8th, with 143,000; about 40,000 of these were from practically all-white precincts. If Patrick had not been part of the coalition, he would have lost and jimcrow would still have prevailed in the Detroit City Council.

The coalition did something else; it welded labor and Negro alliances with Democrats, Socialists, Communists, small business, nationality groups and young people for the cause of Negro representation.

THE ELECTION RESULTS prove the progressives were right in Detroit: the coalition got results, it elected Ed Carey, UAW leader, and Patrick, a liberal Negro community leader, the first Negro ever to be elected to this city's Common Council.

If this is "tailing behind capitalist politicians," as Sarah Lovell says, then let's have some more with greater results in 1958.

Finally as a union member—and as much as I dislike certain policies of Walter Reuther and Jimmy Hoffa—I resent any outside group, whether it be the SWP, the McClellan Committee, or what have you, slandering my union by linking it with GM—Ford—Chrysler.

Name withheld

PATRONIZE
GUARDIAN ADVERTISERS

TO ALL TRAINS

'For want of a horse the rider was lost'

TWO TRANSIT POLICEMEN patrol a deserted station at Forest Hills, Queens, at the height of the longest, most successful subway strike in New York in 30 years. New Yorkers who walked, rode over-crowded buses or tried to drive through dense traffic snarls learned that workers still have the power to tie the city into knots with a little united action. When the strike was called at 5 a.m. Dec. 9 by some 1,500 motormen, members of the independent Motormen's Benevolent Assn., service was drastically cut throughout the system and some lines were knocked out altogether.

Shutting down the subways is a tall order. It's a railway line covering 237.7 miles of track with 8,640 trains running daily and accommodating (with difficulty) 4,700,000 passengers. Most of the 31,917 transit workers (including about half the motormen) are members of the AFL-CIO Transport Workers Union. Some 14,000 are divided among among 22 independent craft unions. Some motormen's grievances are directed against the three-man N.Y.C. Transit Authority that runs the subways. (Take-home pay is from $70 to $80 a week.) But much of the strikers' anger was directed against TWU Pres. Mike Quill who, they charged, negotiated gains for the lower-paid subway workers at the expense of the motormen.

The MBA wanted the right to negotiate independently. A fact-finding panel turned down the MBA, set a subway-wide bargaining election for Dec. 16 which the TWU won though with support much reduced from other years. The TWU denounced the strike as craft unionism seeking to splinter the biggest union in the subways. Shortly after the strike began four MBA leaders were jailed. The men held out for eight days, returned after promises of "fair treatment" from the Mayor, Governor and State Legislature leaders.

AT THE CORE OF THE FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE AND UNITY

Nationhood: Dream of the Arab world

Of all the world's hot-spots, the Middle East today remains the hottest. It is the scene of a multitude of conflicting interests, any one of which might precipitate a global holocaust. Western press reports seldom try to delve beneath the surface to find the broad and deep currents agitating the Arab world. Progressive Arabs feel that the ship of Western diplomacy must sail with these currents to reach a peaceful harbor. Tabitha Petran, who recently arrived in Paris after a second visit to the Middle East, presents the nationalist and anti-imperialist Arab viewpoint in a series of articles, of which this is the first. Fully aware of the strong feelings on Middle Eastern issues, the GUARDIAN publishes these articles in the interest of presenting a fuller picture of the questions at issue.

THREE KEY FIGURES IN THE MIDDLE EASTERN CAULDRON
L. to r.: Syrian President al-Kuwatly, King Saud of Saudi Arabia and Egyptian President Nasser

By Tabitha Petran
Guardian Staff Correspondent

PARIS

AT A PRESS CONFERENCE in Cairo in 1946, Arab League President Azzam Pasha was asked: "Is it true that the Arab League should be pronounced with a British accent?" Fingering his expensive well-tailored suit, he replied: "This is also made in Britain. But who is wearing it? I, an Arab." A young Arab journalist remarked bitterly: "Yes, he's wearing it but at what a price!"

Today, near Tahrir Midan (Liberation Square) in Cairo, a beautiful new Arab League headquarters is being built. But transfer to new premises cannot conceal the moribund state of this organization which Britain originally sponsored to unite Arab kings, sheiks, and tribal chiefs to check both American and Russian influence in the Middle East. It embraces governments as heterogeneous as Iraq, an ally of Turkey in the Baghdad pact, and neutralist Syria, the target of U.S.-Turkish enmity. Many an Arab government (Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Jordan) is embarrassed by its participation in the League: witness the League's recent resolution to support Syria against aggression by Turkey or any other country.

NATIONHOOD — NOT NATIONALISM: For the League, paralyzed by internal contradictions, is yet—at times—forced to move by a powerful magnet: the pressure from below of the Arab masses. Out of this pressure, two powerful forces are being generated in the Arab East: anti-imperialism, the struggle for today; and the demand for Arab unity, the goal for tomorrow.

The West has concealed the significance and power of these forces under the term "Arab nationalism." An Arab exile in Cairo told me: "By courtesy of the Western press this term has acquired a derogatory meaning, and hides the real facts. Ours is a liberation movement, aimed in the first place at winning freedom from imperialist domination, and in the second, at achieving Arab nationhood. **Nationhood**, not to be confused with **Nationalism.**"

Dr. Clovis Maksoud, a leader of Lebanon's Arab Socialist Party, put it another way: "Nationalism is a political struggle which aims at uniting the nation and giving it independence. It can be a movement for independence only, or for unity only, or for the two together. . . . For the Arabs, it is for unity and independence together. Nationalism is the movement by which the nation regains its natural constructive existence, its unity and liberty . . . It is progressive when its aim is to liberate the nation."

RISING MIDDLE CLASS: Arab nationalism goes back a century or more to the underground Arab societies formed during Turkish rule, and developed through the open rebellions and revolts which have marked Arab history since World War I.

Syrian President Kuwatly's role illustrates the difference between the old Arab nationalism and today's emerging liberation movement. Kuwatly comes from the feudal aristocratic class which under the Turks provided Arab cadres (often honorary and small in number) of the Turkish imperial army. During World War I and after, he led the nationalist movement which fought for freedom from colonial domination but without social or class conceptions. These one-time feudal aristocratic elements are now giving way to a new class which strives for independence with definite social, and even class conceptions.

Kuwatly is today at best a figurehead, being pushed now forward, now aside by such sons of the city bourgeoisie as Baath Socialist Party leader Akram Hourani. Similarly Gen. Tewfik Nizam-ed-Dine, son of one of the wealthiest Syrian landowners, was forced to step out as Army Chief of Staff, in favor of another son of the mddle class, Gen. Aziz Bizri.

WHAT UNITES ARABS: Progressive Arab nationalists define the long existing objective conditions for Arab unity as follows:

- **A common language.** Unlike multiple language countries like Yugoslavia, Switzerland and India, which are considered one nation, Al Umma Al Arabiah (the Arab nation) speaks one language. Dialects may differ; but classical Arabic (known to the masses through the Koran and classical poetry) is the common denominator and modern journalistic Arabic the **lingua franca** of the Arab world, carried through radio broadcasts to the most remote villages of Arabiah.

- **A common heritage.** Arabs everywhere share the same history, traditions, and culture. Most share the same religion. But progressive Arabs are quick to point out that Arabs do not claim to be a nation by being Moslems. Christians, they hold, are as much a part of the Arab nation as Moslems. The secular nature of Arab nationalism was demonstrated during World War I when the Arabs, overwhelmingly Moslem, rebelled against the Moslem Turkish Empire to side with Christian allies in an effort to overthrow Turkish rule and win national independence. Arabs respect all religions, including Judaism.

Westerners who have heard so much about "Christian civilization" from such atom bomb enthusiasts as John Foster Dulles may understand why Arab progressives hesitate to speak of Islamic civilization with Western visitors. A little familiarity with Arab culture, however, soon reveals the intrinsic value of the latter expression. A Christian Lebanese told me: "I am an Arab national, Christian by faith and Islamic by civilization."

- **A common temperament.** Arabs assert: "You'll not find differences among us as great as among the people of Scotland, Ireland and Wales." But they exclude race as a factor in nationhood for "to speak of pure race is nonsense. There can be no racial or chauvinist elements in Arab nationalism."

- **A common will for unity.** The history of the Middle East shows that in spite of imperialist efforts, this will for unity has in the past century taken shape in different forms, with its strength of expression, content and form varying with the historical epoch.

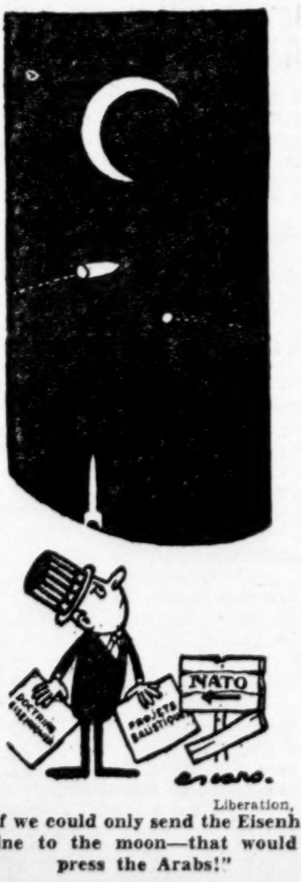
NEW ELEMENTS: New objective elements changing the character of the old nationalism today are:

(1) The rise of capitalism—reflected in the heavy tariffs and end of the open door policy in Egypt and Syria which have brought these oil have-not and generally poor countries a favorable balance of trade in recent years and so made possible an expansion of industrial investment.

(2) The scope of popular support for the goals of independence and nationhood. Among the 80 million Arabs in the area stretching from the Atlantic Ocean to the Persian Gulf and from the borders of Turkey to the lower cataracts of the Nile, the feeling of being one people has become very strong and there is a sharply growing consciousness that they constitute one nation. Syria's foreign minister, Selah Bitar, was not exaggerating when he said: "We Arabs are much more concerned about achieving our unity than, for example, the Germans are about achieving theirs. Our revolutionary aim of Arab unity guides every step we take."

TODAY'S STRUGGLE: Preoccupation with unity is everywhere apparent. School children compose and sing songs celebrating the common struggle to achieve a free and united Arabiah. Arabs move about between different Arab states as between different parts of the same country. Palestinians are at home in Cairo and carry on much of its grocery trade; Algerians, in Damascus. In Beirut, a Lebanese scholar explained: "I consider myself an Arabic, not a Lebanese, writer." In a Nile village, a group of fellaheen, asked about their nationality, replied: "We are Arabs." Twenty years ago they might have said: "We are from Temsahia village" or "from Assiut" (the province).

Nationhood is on tomorrow's rather than today's agenda. But Arab unity is an increasingly powerful weapon in today's struggle against imperialism. Egypt's President Nasser underlined this in his address to Parliament last July 23 when he termed it "the most efficacious of our weapons in defending our fatherland—whether our local Egyptian frontiers or our comprehensive Arab frontiers." This, he said, was the lesson of the aggression against Egypt when the anger of all the Arab peoples showed "that the battlefront had become too wide for the aggressors." The recent rallying of the Arab peoples—and governments—behind Syria provided an even clearer "lesson" of the efficacy of this weapon.



Liberation, Paris

"Ah, if we could only send the Eisenhower Doctrine to the moon—that would impress the Arabs!"

Who's mad at the Russians?

A WEEK BEFORE the Paris NATO parley George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, noted that "the mood of the American people is not particularly hostile toward Russia." The sputniks, Gallup said, had "not altered the country's general desire to coexist peacefully with the Russians." The latest Gallup poll, posing four questions, resulted in the following:

1. A plan to permit Russian and American leaders to speak directly and without censorship to the people of each other's country (60% in favor, 26% opposed, 14% no opinion).

2. A wider exchange of Russian and American students (60% in favor, 31% opposed, 9% no opinion).

3. A plan to permit Russian and U.S. tourists to travel wherever they please in each other's country (47% in favor, 42% opposed, 11% no opinion).

4 A business arrangement by which Russia and the U.S. would buy and sell more goods to each other than they do at present (46% in favor, 33% opposed, 21% no opinion).

Gallup said that on all four questions "a majority of college-trained are in favor, ranging from 83% who approve the student exchange to 51% who are in favor of . . . a trade agreement with each other." He added: "In one form or another, all four of these plans have been advocated by Soviet party chief Nikita Khrushchev, as a means of creating better understanding between the two nations."

Hold that line!

Randall W. Richards Jr., '38, vice president of Avis Rent-A-Car System, said it made his blood boil to think that anyone would minimize the importance of the Yale-Harvard [football] game. "These Yale youngsters have been woefully misinformed," he said. "To me, it smacks insidiously of Russian propaganda."

—New York **Post**, 11/22

AMONG OUR FREE WORLD ALLIES

How whitewashed fascism rules Portugal

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

AND WHEN I OPE MY LIPS LET NO DOG BARK!
Dictator Salazar gives the orders as the hangers-on beam

IN PARIS LAST WEEK, when Uncle Sam went into his post-sputnik huddle on "defense of the free world," his co-defenders around the NATO Council table represented varying degrees of capitalist freedom. One of them was a 31-year-old fascist dictatorship practising virtual slavery in its African colonies; censoring all news except what the regime wishes to be known; banning all strikes and opposition parties by law; jailing and torturing mild democrats indefinitely with or without charges.

In Western societies most vocally concerned about freedom, Portugal has become almost a forgotten country. Still masquerading as the republic that it was from 1910 to 1926, it has developed a formula—with a dead-letter democratic "constitution" — for fascist whitewash where Hitler and Mussolini failed.

Its paternalistic Fuehrer, ex-professor Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, rules through the Roman Catholic Church which trained him in the trimming of sails to prevailing winds. Combining the vanity and ruthlessness of a medieval monk, he is pictured on the walls of all public buildings but lives in shy seclusion.

POWER OF THE CHURCH: His cooperation made Franco's victory possible in Spain, and as long as the "wave of the future" seemed to be moving that way his regime indulged in all the crude and raucous trappings of naked fascism. After collaborating with the Axis until it had clearly lost the war, officials throughout Salazar's empire then "chose democracy," outwardly muted down their fascist line or called it by pleasanter names. The Church became more and more of a power, not only as a landlord but in industry.

Without any change in the system of terror and corruption itself, Portugal is now accepted as a UN member and partner in "free world defense" against communism, which, says a Salazar slogan, "wants to make every man a beast, every woman a whore and every home a brothel." (In Portugal prostitution is carried on in legalized brothels which provide a source of state income.)

A world-wide blackout on Portugal obscured for a long time the existence there of a Resistance which—considering that few Portuguese can recall what democracy is like—is remarkably broad, determined and courageous. One element, the Communist Party, still regularly publishes a paper, **Avante**, under appalling danger to all concerned. This year's mass trial of 52 democrats in Oporto, mostly young students, brought the Resistance some acknowledgment in the world press.

"PEACE IN GOA": In 1954, when the agitation began in India against continued Portuguese occupation of Goa and other enclaves there, Salazar's opposition had come more into the open than at any time since 1945, when for 24 hours they thought the war had been won for democracy. Mildly progressive leaders of the "clandestine and subversive" Natl. Democratic Movement accused Salazar of "stirring up war hysteria in our country" over the Goa question, which could be solved by negotiation with India.

When the NDM leaders were arrested, "Peace in Goa" wall-slogans and leaflets began appearing in Portuguese streets; the 52 were later rounded up and charged with subversive activities. A P.I.D.E. (political police) witness at the trial, asked what he would do if "someone wrote on a wall 'Peace on earth to men of goodwill'," said: "I'd arrest him."

THE COLD STATISTICS: French lawyers attending as observers, who confirmed that the accused—including tuberculous youths—had been savagely tortured, said the trial reminded them of Joan of Arc's, and the Portuguese opposition—liberal monarchists, Catholics, Protestants, freethinkers and progressives all united against fascism—recalled the wartime Resistance in France. One visiting lawyer commented that this hypocritical trial took place in a "republic" where it is a crime to appear barefoot in the cities but "the smallest trip to the countryside suggests that one pair of shoes to each ten inhabitants is a generous estimate."

(These statistics appeared in Lisbon's censored **Republica** last October: while prices have risen as elsewhere in the West, Portuguese peasants from richest to poorest average under $100 a year—less than 50 years ago; the major industries pay out only 39% of their income in wages and salaries, compared with 60-70% in most capitalist countries. The official **Corporative Studies** journal for April-June 1957 said textile, cork and canning workers earn 70c, 62c and 31c a day, respectively.)

THE BACK DOOR: Last March, while the trial of the 52 dragged on, 72 Portuguese lawyers—some of them government supporters — petitioned Salazar against the "normal use" of torture on political prisoners, mentioning two deaths in jail which had just occurred. Of one of these deaths, **Republica** was able to report that "a truly good man," J. Lemos de Oliveira, had succumbed "after 15 days of grievous suffering" at "329 Rua de Heroismo, Oporto"—the address of P.I.D.E.'s torture headquarters whose backdoor conveniently connects with a cemetery. Manuel da Silva Jr., who distributed leaflets about de Oliveira's death, was arrested and beaten to death in the same place.

Resistance partisans in Britain said last week that a critical time for the Portuguese people is approaching. They see little hope for freedom without a change in Western public opinion, which has been cynically indifferent toward Portugal. But "free world" consciences may, they think, be touched by the colonial by-product of Salazar fascism—the even greater oppression, illiteracy and squalor endured by the ples of Angola, Mozambique, Timor, oa, and Cape Verde, San Tome and Principe islands.

PRESSURE ON UN: At present, according to the Indian press, scores of young Goan nationalists are being tortured in Salazar's jails; on colonial policy, Salazar forms a mutual admiration society with S. Africa's Strydom and Central Africa's Welensky. Attempts to force from Salazar information on the African colonies (he insists these "provinces" of Portugal are a "purely domestic matter"), and to negotiate with India over Goa, still fall short of a two-thirds UN Assembly majority.

On a recent resolution to re-define those non-self-governing peoples about whom UN must be kept informed, all African and Middle Eastern members voted in favor except Lebanon (abstained) and S. Africa and Turkey (with the "free world" bloc, against). Western public opinion could push this resolution over the top.

ELECTION IN MAY: The critical event for Portugal is the Presidential election which is due around May. Under the Salazar "republic" consistently farcical elections for President and for a powerless Assembly have been held, with over half the population disfranchised and opposition candidates—forced to run as independents—denied the most primitive guarantees of fairness.

(A London **Observer** man in Lisbon for last month's Assembly election said "one would hardly have known an election was on"—although he did manage to discuss it with a "moderate liberal," who had been imprisoned and exiled, "as we hurried along crowded streets to prevent eavesdropping.")

In the past, most opponents of the only political party have withdrawn in protest against this lack of guarantees. In next May's election, under the usual farcical rules, the Resistance is likely to unite on a candidate advocating simple respect of the constitution, who will not withdraw.

Admittedly hopeless without some pressure from democrats abroad, this is the opposition's plan because there is fear that the May election might be Portugal's last. Even now, indeed, it may never be held. Faced like dictator Franco with the "succession" problem, Salazar is warming up for a restored monarchy under which democratic figleaves would vanish in a complete "corporative state." The pretender to the throne, 60-year-old ultra-reactionary Duarte of Braganza, who has passed his life in Germany and Austria, was brought to Oporto three years ago to learn Portuguese and get the country used to his presence. A Salazar-approved organization, the Causa Monarquica, holds receptions for him in public buildings, but a large wing of Portuguese royalists solidly opposes it with the rest of the Resistance.

COULD GET WORSE: The desperation of Portuguese democrats is indicated by their readiness to fight even for the mock "republic" they have, with a stagnant economy and social life, a policeman for every 90 inhabitants, the lowest life expectancy in Europe and almost the highest illiteracy rate. It could be—and next year may become, with Washington and Whitehall blessings—even worse.

U.S. capitalists are too attracted by Portuguese colonial oil, mineral and diamond concessions, and by the uranium and tungsten in Portugal itself, to worry about democracy; and **Life** recently presented an affectionate portrait of Duarte to its readers. Britain, struggling against the "free world" leader to retain economic dominance in the territories of its "oldest ally," sent its Queen on a goodwill junket to Salazar's "Estado Novo" last year.

Last month a color film of her visit (which had driven Portuguese democrats to near-despair) was shown at the Anglo-Portuguese Society banquet in London. Lord Selkirk, for the British government, lauded Salazar as a champion of democracy; and Sir David Kelly, chairman of the "cultural" British Council, won the distinguished guests' applause with protests against "leftist sniping" and the "lie" of Portugal's oppression and misery. Portugal's economy, he said, was "one of the healthiest in Europe," and its people were "happy."

God was then requested to save the Queen.

LULLABY IN LISBON
But the words have no song

"WITHOUT BITTERNESS"

Doxey Wilkerson quits the Communist Party

DOXEY A. WILKERSON, former curriculum director of the N.Y. Jefferson School of Social Science and Communist Party natl. committee member, announced his resignation from the party last week.

In a letter to Sidney Stein, CP organization secy., Wilkerson stated: "I will cherish and will continue to work for the social goals which have long guided my adult life—an America where men of all races and creed can walk together in dignity and equality, where thought and speech are truly free, where political processes are genuinely democratic, and where the vast material resources of our nation are geared to the people's needs.

"After long and mature deliberation, I have come—reluctantly but irrevocably—to the conclusion that, especially in the light of recent developments, the Communist Party no longer affords a framework within which I can make a constructive contribution to these ends."

Wilkerson said he had taken the step "without bitterness."

Watch over Elgin

ELGIN, IOWA

I decided I want back in the fold. Things are bleak without the GUARDIAN even if I don't always like the way it reports the news. Please reenter my subscription. **Robert E. Margroff**

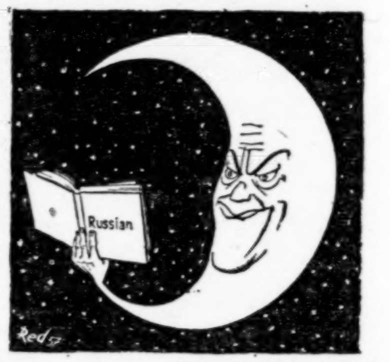
New Soviet notes

(Continued from Page 1)

in the Near and tne Middle East" the U.S.S.R., the U.S., Britain and France should "adhere strictly to the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of countries in that region" and renounce the use of force in settling Middle Eastern questions.

- "The renunciation by the great powers of the stationing of nuclear weapons" in West or East Germany and "an undertaking by Poland and Czechoslovakia not to manufacture or station nuclear weapons in their territories," thus creating in Europe "a wide zone free from nuclear armaments." (A similar proposal was made by Sweden recently, by Poland at the UN last October and by British Prime Minister Eden in 1955).
- Pending general disarmament, a standstill agreement at the present level of armaments, a great power "obligation not to use atomic and hydrogen weapons of any kind and immediately cease the test of such weapons, or at least suspend the tests for two or three years, with the establishment of a necessary international control over the implementation of such an agreement."
- "Acceptance and implementation in practice of the principle of peaceful coexistence of all countries irrespective of their social and political systems."

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY: Observing that international events are developing "a trend in a dangerous direction," Bulganin warned against the illusion that "war, once it starts, can be restricted to some specific area." He urged all UN members to study his proposals.



Neues Deutschland, Berlin

"The job now is to learn Russian."

The Bulganin letter impressed all but Washington. India's Premier Nehru, who last month had appealed to the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to end nuclear tests and settle international questions through direct negotiations, said: "This is what we have been saying for a long time." In Britain, the London **Times** said NATO could at least drop the plan for missile bases in West Germany without loss of security, "even if such weapons existed in East Germany." It found in most NATO countries a growing desire for an alternative to "massive retaliation" by nuclear weapons.

In Bonn, the N.Y. **Times** reported, an official spokesman assured that Bulganin's note would receive most careful study. Nine national newspapers editorially urged serious consideration.

In a front-page editorial, the **Sueddeutsche Zeitung** of Munich urged "at least to try to take this road instead of stumbling blindly into the blind alley of an armament race that is becoming more and more total."

Hamburg's **Die Welt** said: "Bulganin has taken a seat as a silent participant at the Paris conference and nobody will be able to overlook him."

SAME OLD SORE THUMB: Even before the President had read the letter and before it was published, the U.S. State Dept., however, dismissed the Soviet message as propaganda. James Reston said (**Times, 12/13**), that the Department followed its rule of thumb for judging Soviet proposals: if Moscow makes proposals privately, it may be honestly seeking negotiations; but public proposals mean the motive is propaganda.

Reston said Moscow, in fact, has been trying in vain in private for several weeks to open new diplomatic conversations with Washington. In Moscow on Dec. 3, Soviet CP First Secy. Khrushchev appealed to Western diplomats, including U.S. Ambassador Llewellyn Thomson, for new negotiations. Apparently only after Western governments failed to respond, Moscow, in a dramatic effort to halt increasing tensions, made a public appeal.

THE CLOSED MINDS: In rejecting this appeal, Washington reiterated its lame demand for Moscow to demonstrate that it meant business by "deeds"—such as German reunification and disarmament on U.S. terms. Sophisticated observers pointed out that the "deeds" asked of the Soviet Union were precisely the subjects for negotiation, and that in acceding to them in advance Moscow would be surrendering unconditionally.

These observers have been increasingly alarmed by the inflexibility of U.S. policy. Edward Crankshaw said in the London **Observer:** "Just as the Soviet leaders since Stalin have been opening their minds and approaching more closely to an objective appreciation of reality, so the statesmen of the West have been closing theirs and receding from objectivity."

Former Canadian External Affairs Minister Lester Pearson, in his Nobel Peace Prize speech in Oslo, Norway, on Dec. 11, noted that Western policy "is becoming as rigid and defensive as the trench warfare of forty years ago . . ."

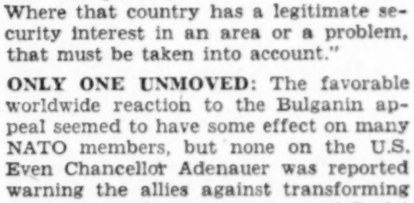
A GRIM FACT: Pearson felt the world outlook for peace would be better if the West could display the same initiative for diplomacy as for "defense planning." He added: "The grim fact, however, is that we prepare for war like precocious giants and for peace like retarded pygmies." Pearson said that "the main responsibility" for breaking the diplomatic deadlock "rests with the two great world powers, the U.S. and the U.S.S.R."

Successful negotiations, he said, would require "the recognition by the West that there are certain issues such as the unification of Germany and the stabilization of the Middle East which are not likely to be settled in any satisfactory way without the participation of the U.S.S.R. Where that country has a legitimate security interest in an area or a problem, that must be taken into account."

ONLY ONE UNMOVED: The favorable worldwide reaction to the Bulganin appeal seemed to have some effect on many NATO members, but none on the U.S. Even Chancellor Adenauer was reported warning the allies against transforming the Paris conference into an anti-Soviet military demonstration.

In an unusually significant report from Moscow (12/14), **Times** correspondent Willian J. Jorden said it was "the virtually unanimous opinion among non-Communist observers here that the U.S. and other Western powers would be unwise to give only superficial attention" to the latest Soviet bid. These diplomats felt that "Moscow has shown that it is aware of" the universal sentiment against a war involving "fantastically destructive weapons [and] has set out to convince people throughout the world that it is truly interested in peace." He said these observers feel the opportunity to test Soviet intentions "should not be missed."

At GUARDIAN press time the Bulganin letters from "atheistic" Moscow remained the most potent appeal for "peace on earth to men of goodwill."



Observer, London

"I'm working on a deterrent to deter deterrents."

THEY ARE NOW GOING 'DUTCH TREAT' IN INDONESIA

An Indonesian trade union deputation headed by J. Mamesah and W. Tomasoa, (r.) read a "Taking Over Proclamation" to Dutch KPM shipping company managers. The Indonesian government has since prohibited workers from taking over Dutch enterprises. It has placed them under state control and has agreed to facilitate repatriation of Dutch nationals. Contrary to widespread Western press reports, Tillman Durdin wrote from Jakarta (N.Y. Times, *12/16): "Communists do not appear to have taken a leading role in the anti-Dutch moves . . . Indonesian workers who began taking over Dutch enterprises two weeks ago were not affiliated with the CP [but] with the Nationalist Party . . . President Sukarno's influence has been an important factor [in the] workers' moves."*

Labor and 1958

(Continued on Page 8)

long run, labor will be better off for what we have done here this week."

CHALLENGE TO SENATORS: The convention voted unanimously to reaffirm its original pledge of "full cooperation with all proper investigations," but the resolution was critical of some members of the McClellan committee. It had this to say of Barry M. Goldwater (R-Ariz.), Carl T. Curtis (R-Neb.) and Karl E. Mundt (R-S.D.):

"These Senators have sought to use the processes of the committee for anti-labor propaganda, to harass clean and honest unions and to aid anti-labor employers who have been found guilty of unfair labor practices through the due processes of the Natl. Labor Relations Board. The labor movement does not intend to be intimidated by these tactics. We challenge the objectivity of these Senators, who by their words and their deeds have demonstrated their anti-labor bias and have forfeited any claim of being interested or capable of conducting themselves in the spirit of fairness or objectivity."

HARRISON IS SHARP: Another resolution adopted unanimously by the presidents of the federation's 135 unions said that labor will "resist to the uttermost any and every proposal which, under the guise of seeking to protect workers from corruption or improper activities, seeks instead to destroy honest, decent American trade unions." Sharpest criticism of the McClellan committee came from George M. Harrison, president of the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks: "I am one who believes the McClellan committee was established for the purpose of developing sufficient stench among labor unions to air-condition the public mind for restrictive and punitive legislation against organized labor. Thus far they have done a good job in that direction."

Most union officials—or their lawyers—took a close second look at the Administration's own proposed legislation as presented by Secy. of Labor James P. Mitchell. **Newsweek** reported the original reception of the package: "The remedial legislation that Mitchell said the Administration would seek to wipe out labor corruption did not really bother the leaders. Whatever laws Congress might put through would not, they were convinced, be crippling. For the record, they grumbled a little. But one said privately: 'Mitchell couldn't have delivered a better speech if George Meany had written it for him'."

"A NEW BUREAUCRACY": But before the convention ended, Meany had developed some doubts and said that some of the proposals "bother me very much." The proposal to make election of union officers by secret ballot mandatory by law he thought would put the government "pretty deep" into the internal affairs of unions. On the proposal for a new Commissioner of Labor Reports appointed by the President, he said:

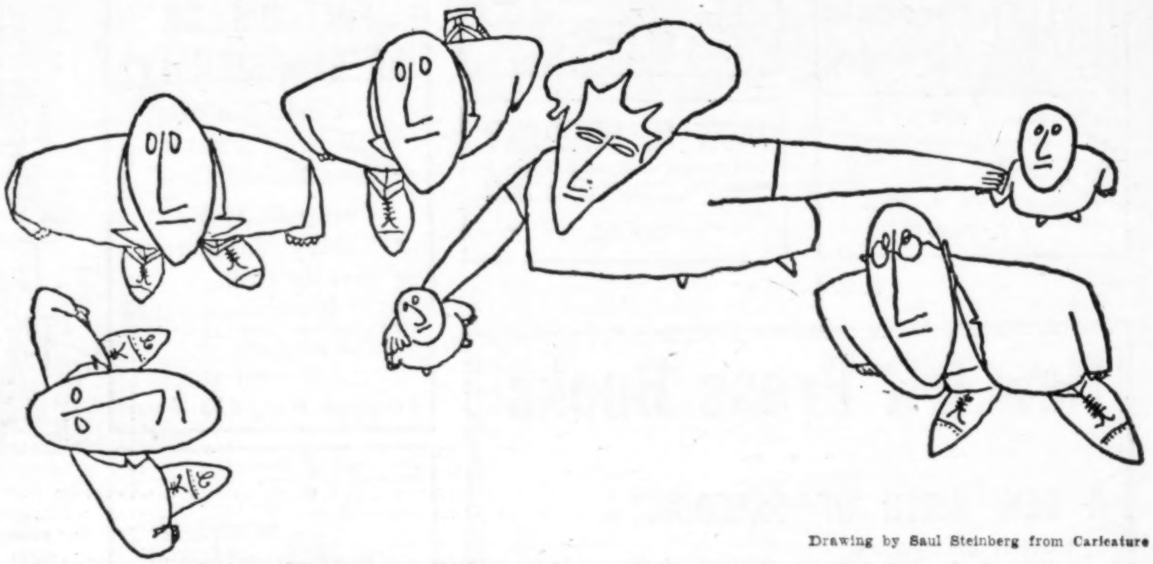
"This will set up a new bureaucracy and it is only a very short step from this sort of thing to legislation which would amount to licensing legislation. We would be in a position where a union, in order to operate, would have to go and seek a license from some politically-appointed board and would have to establish its qualifications to operate as a trade union." Meany also opposed new restrictions on organizational picketing and secondary boycotts.

Labor's Daily, owned and published by the Intl. Typographical Union, said of the government's program: "There is an increasing uneasiness that government is not only putting its foot in the door of internal affairs but is beginning to batter those doors down. The danger of a labor movement straitjacketed by Federal agencies is both worrisome and ominous . . ."

A PAPER MAY DIE: Labor's Daily itself was faced with possible extinction. The ITU has insisted for some time that the paper could continue only with financial and other support from the labor movement as a whole. The conventon itself took no action on the matter beyond naming a committee of seven unions to study the problem. The ITU warned that it will suspend the paper if no support is forthcoming within the next 30 days.

Typical of the problems receiving small notice from the convention was that of racial discrimination. New York City Councilman Earl Brown, a columnist for the Negro weekly **Amsterdam News**, complained that his own union, the American Newspaper Guild, has failed to act on the issue and wrote: "But even more important than the failure of any one union to tackle the problem of job discrimination because of color is the refusal of the national AFL-CIO to do so. It is just as important for the future welfare of all unions for Mr. Meany to set in motion an investigation of his unions that discriminate against Negroes as it is for him to raise a hue and cry against the racketeers in some unions. An occasional speech by him about brotherhood and the equality of man won't do the trick . . . This kind of problem should be foremost on the agenda of any AFL-CIO convention."

BOOKS Art of 'Caricature, from Leonardo to Picasso'



Drawing by Saul Steinberg from Caricature

WHEN MODERN SCIENCE began to push man from the exact center of the universe, where he had conceived himself to be, into a minor place near the edge of one of the millions of galaxies, did it also start him moving toward "modernism" in drawing and painting? This and a number of similar ideas are argued in an illustrated survey, **Caricature, from Leonardo to Picasso,*** by Werner Hofmann. He says:

"The view that grouped the whole world of phenomena around man, its center, was destroyed and its standard of value was overthrown. The artists of our century rose up against the egoism of this assumed superiority and required man to fit in with nature." He was no longer able to "place himself at the apex of the pyramid of creation." To Hofmann, Western caricature has been a heightened form of symbolic realism rather than the gag cartoon or the graphic gossip of our entertainment pages. It finally "became identified with one of its late forms: Expressionism. As ugliness was now no longer considered repulsive but expressive, caricature was proclaimed its forerunner." Hofmann sees "the sixteenth and early twentieth century as forming the limits of the development of caricature on its own." The art rules and the formal beauties of the old and new classicists had to be overthrown: "It was the task of caricature to unmask this ideal by accentuating weaknesses and deformities."

MUMMIFIED ART: Before our time the arts had always been experienced in the context of life, as a "simple confrontation" of the everyday audience with its own esthetics and not as something special and apart. In the center of this alienation of man from his arts is man as the reasoner, who "strives by registration and cataloguing to bring every part of life within the clutch of scientific stocktaking." Hofmann cites Hegel to the effect that art must prove itself to science and that we must subject the contents of the arts to our "reasoning inspection."

For most of us, of course, the arts are not rationalizing tracts nor are they the sociologist's culture objects or the huckster's conversation pieces. In spite of Hofmann's enthusiasm for caricature and modern Expressionism, too much of modern art is unsatisfactory for most people.

Hofmann's conclusions, however, are neither pessimistic nor starry-eyed: "Art in our century senses on the frontiers of reason the outlines of new and as yet undefinable ranges of experience." Yet everything seems to be permissible: "An age in which simply everything is considered fit for a museum annuls the artists' protest, not by prohibiting it but by mummifying it."

PERISHABLE "MODERN": This is a stimulating book for anyone interested in the arts. Yet it may be asked whether the interesting questions raised in the 50 large pages of text go far enough. Like the English art theorist. Herbert Read, Hofmann starts from the unstated premise that "modern" painting has made a permanent contribution to culture. If this assumption turns out to be false, if the non-objective schools prove to have been aberrations of a decaying social system, then their derivation as to the worthwhile fruits of a healthier tradition will not make sense.

It is certainly possible that our descendants—who will make the final judgments—may not agree with either Hofmann or Read. We may as well keep on the agenda the idea that what our critics tell us is today's fine art may be no more permanent than were the arts of heraldry. The labored attempts to make this part of the present respectable in terms of the past may account for the banality of many of the 80 drawings reproduced in half-tone in this book. The names Arcimboldo, Oberlander, Grandville and Cruikshank make odd company with those of Breughel, Goya, Hogarth, Daumier and George Grosz. The 32 line drawings are livelier than the half-tones.

—Robert Joyce

**CARICATURE FROM LEONARDO TO PICASSO, by Werner Hofmann; Crown Pub. Inc., N.Y. 150 pp. $5.95.*

ZILLIACUS' TRAVELS EASTWARD

An honest man's report on socialism in Europe

PERHAPS HIS ODD NAME has something to do with it. (He is of Finnish extraction but a more "British" personality you could hardly meet). Anyway, Konni Zilliacus—lifelong socialist, between-wars League of Nations official, political man-of-the-world and MP for Gorton—is an outstanding example of a prophet without honor in the high places of his own country.

What are his crimes? Well, he wants peace and works overtime and without respite seeking and explaining practical ways to get it. Knowing many of the socialist world's leaders personally, and speaking most of their languages like a native, he journeyed eastward in the "year of Hungary" and reports what they said to him, and his own observations and conclusions, in a new book.* It shows far greater knowledge of, and insight into, the post-20th Congress political situation than any other book published in the West.

FREEDOM A NECESSITY: On his eastward pilgrimage, Khrushchev, Tito and other leaders talked illuminatingly to Zilly and he talked back to dozens of key individuals and thousands who gathered to hear him lecture. Everywhere he hotly defended Labour's reformist road to socialism, quoting from Moscow's political-economic classics but pointing out where he thought recent history had refuted Marx. To a hall jammed with "picked future cadres of the Party" doing advanced studies in Moscow, who disagreed with much of what Zilly had to say but accepted his "good faith and friendly and comradely spirit," he insisted that democracy and political freedom were "a necessary political instrument for successful 'active co-existence.'"

He reports back on the great material and educational achievements he saw and the people's pride in them. The political super-structure worries him greatly, and he thinks it will lead to more serious trouble à la Hungary and Poland unless corrected. But he finds an intense desire for peace and friendly relations and a real determination to clean up the Stalin-era mess.

Without blindness to Yugoslavia's shortcomings, he approves, as he always did, of Tito's independent line. Summarizing the continued effort to lure Tito back into the "socialist camp," he finds it inconsistent with recent Moscow statements about different paths to socialism. On Hungary he finds himself disagreeing with Tito who thinks the second Soviet intervention was justified as a "lesser evil" to counter-revolution and possible world war. Zilly's ghoulish encounters with old friends in the People's Democracies, who had been jailed as "Titoists" and named him in "confessions" as an "imperialist-Titoist agent," were reported in the GUARDIAN of 12/3/56. He records with amazement that none of the framed-up and "rehabilitated" Communists he met had lost faith in their government or in the future. For him it is "astonishing" that Soviet leaders should believe "communism in anything like its present form" has any future, but "believe it they do."

BRIDGE BUILDER: The record of these confusing years will show no more honest social democrat than Zilly, and you feel after reading his book that if all social democrats were like him the future of the West would give little cause for concern. His appraisal of events, whether you agree with all or some or none of it, has been almost uniquely consistent, and he will discuss and defend it and his basic philosophy with anyone. His disbelief that the democratic "good life" can be attained via proletarian dictatorship might be attributed to natural pessimism as to the possible changing of human nature, even under socialism, to make a "leadership" party proof against bureaucratic corruption.

He is in the most absolute sense not a Communist, but unlike many "political experts" he knows what a Communist is, and the State Dept.'s refusal to let him come to the U.S. is a tribute to his honesty and intelligence. An unhushable advocate of socialism with his heart as well as his head, he declines, outside of that, to join any black-and-white "pro" or "anti" camp whether on the U.S., the U.S.S.R. or anything else; and he feels an obligation to criticize his own party with the gloves off where it goes wrong.

In Parliament, his wise counsel, (whenever his party leaders are bold enough to accept it) plays a bigger role than appears on the surface in molding Labour's foreign-policy line. The Tories show their respect for his facts and arguments by never trying to refute them, and most of the press by suppressing them. He embarrasses most politicians by fairly and carefully examining other viewpoints before expressing and explaining his own. He insists that Moscow has a point of view based on its own history and problems and conforming with its own interests as it sees them; and that statesmanship is the art of building bridges, not an exercise in moral platitudes. Where could the man ever have got such an idea?

—Cedric Belfrage

A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM? by Konni Zilliacus. Monthly Review Press, 66 Barrow St., N.Y.C. 14. Special pre-publication price, $3. Thereafter $5.

Ludas Matyi, Budapest

And we're still scared

J. EDGAR HOOVER, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has announced a new all-out propaganda offensive by the American Communist Party. He believes it very sinister, and has solemnly warned us not to be taken in.

Subject of the propaganda offensive: stop the atomic and hydrogen bomb tests!

Don't worry about the dire warning of some scientists about what can happen genetically from continued tests. These men are undoubtedly Communists. If they aren't Reds then they obviously must be dupes of the Reds. One or the other.

But arguing against this God created by good publicity men over a period of 20 years is like standing up in church and shouting "Down with the Virgin Mary!" You can't win in the face of Hoover's press.

So we'll just have to say that these atomic and hydrogen weapon tests scare the hell out of us.

And let Mr. Hoover and his many worshippers inside and outside of the Federal Bureau of Investigation mark us down in their little black books as a Communist. Or a dupe of Communism.

We're still scared. And not of Mr. Hoover.

—Editorial in the Coos Bay (Ore.) World, Oct. 23

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A NEW BIRTH OF FREEDOM?

by KONNI ZILLIACUS

See review by Cedric Belfrage on p. 9 of this issue of the GUARDIAN

Price in January, $5
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by Lionel Forman and E. S. Sachs

The first part of this timely book describes the trial of the 156 opponents of apartheid who were charged with treason. It is written by one of the accused, Lionel Forman, who is a barrister and editor of New Age. The second part, written by Solly Sachs, exiled secretary of the Garment Workers Union, gives the social and political background of what is happening in South Africa.

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SOCIALISTS AROUND THE WORLD

by Helen and Scott Nearing

There are socialists in every land. In some countries they are still muzzled and imprisoned. In other countries they hold the highest offices and shape public opinion and public policy. The Nearings talked to socialists in North America, Europe and Asia. With this book they take you to these people and let you listen in on their conversations.

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NEW YORK

SUN. EVE., DEC. 22
FREEDOM OR IRRESPONSIBILITY?
A critique of
Howard Fast's
"The Naked God"

- **Philip Bonosky**
- **Sidney Finkelstein**
- **Harold Collins**

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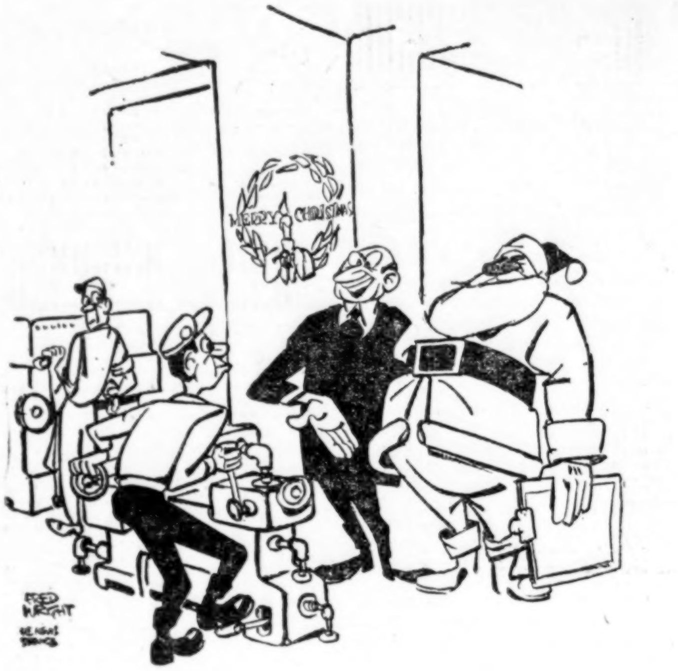

Drawing by Fred Wright
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SAVE MONEY! GET A SUPPLY OF GUARDIAN VITAMINS! See p. 12

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Newark, N.J.

The Jewish Cultural & Fraternal Club announces address by **MR. FRANK WILKINSON**, Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, on "The Bill of Rights," Fri., Dec. 20, 8:30 p.m. at Tunis Mansion, 933 Bergen St.

New York

YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE presents Fri., Dec. 20, **"Fame Is The Spur,"** a film portrayal of the socialist who shed his ideals, rose from mill-town boy to Prime Minister. 8 p.m. & 10:15 p.m. Cont. $1. Central Plaza Annex, 40 E. 7th Street.

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CLASSIFIED

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SHARE DRIVING

DRIVING TO MIAMI Dec. 26-27. Would like someone to share driving and gasoline expense. References. Phone: **EN 2-1692.**

APARTMENT WANTED

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Caroling Party in N.Y. on Dec. 21

THE ADULT CHORUS of the Metropolitan Music School, 18 W. 74 St., N.Y.C., will hold a Caroling and Chanukah Song Party Sat. evening, Dec. 21 to assist the School.

The caroling will be led by Earl Robinson. Tempting buffet dishes and punch will be served. Contribution is $2 per person.

Traffic hazard

PAHOKEE, FLA.

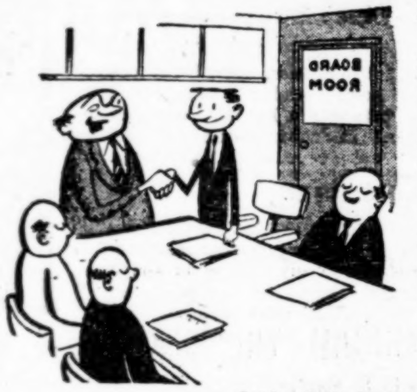
Suppose some day when Dulles is spinning out on his Brink one of the Sputniks ran into him. Would that mean: Total Retaliation?

R. E. Boe

THE GALLERY

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT on Madison Av.: On Tuesday morning, Dec. 3, Arthur Fatt, president of The Grey Advertising Co., rose early and brushed his teeth—with Crest toothpaste. It seemed innocent but the act was treason and by midnight the advertising world was shaken by it. Mr. Fatt's company has a lucrative client, the Whitehall Pharmacal Co. which makes—Kolynos.

Fatt, in Grey flannel uniform, went through the day with the rival toothpaste on his breath. That evening, appearing on WABD's interview program **Nightbeat**, Fatt was confronted with his treachery by questioner Howard Whitman: "Why do you use Crest?" Fatt: "I just happened to use it this morning. It's a product of Procter & Gamble, another client of our agency." Relentlessly Whitman pinned him down until Fatt admitted: "We do not handle the advertising of Crest. It just happens to be a product that I used this morning." Outraged, Whitehall Pharmacal, which placed $30,000,000 worth of ads last year, withdrew its account from Grey.



London Daily Mirror

"I can't tell you what a pleasure it is to hear someone speak his mind—cheerio and best of luck in finding a new job!"

An agency executive, interviewed by the N.Y. **Times**, said: "I guess this will cause a lot of agency executives to think a long time before they speak, but I wouldn't stand for it." He remained anonymous.

KING MOHAMMED V of Morocco, on a visit in New York, last week sent his best wishes to Augustus J. Johnson, leader of the United African Nationalist Movement, but the royal greeting was stopped at the bars of the city jail. Johnson, a leader of the Motormen's Benevolent Association, had been jailed for heading the N. Y. subway strike. On the previous week-end Johnson, off duty from his motorman's job, had met the king at the Waldorf-Astoria . . . In Paris Jean-Paul Sartre defended a young North African plumber's helper charged with a political assassination. Sartre cited works by Stendhal, Lamartine and Hugo in which assassination is "sometimes considered a duty."

PAT BOONE, BOBBY-SOX IDOL, celebrated for clean-living, teetotaling and church-going as well as singing, in an interview with Mike Wallace in the N.Y. **Post** last week, aired wholesome non-conformist views on witch-hunting and segregation. "And I feel strongly about one thing. Just because a fellow was a Communist five or 10 years ago, if he's not one now, I don't think he should be fired, or even be investigated in public where it might hurt him." Asked if he would hire an ex-Communist director or producer, Boone said yes, then added: "If a man wants to be a Communist, that's his privilege. If the Communist Party wants to overthrow the government, we have to do something about that. But if a man really feels it would be great if we all had community property and nobody had any more than anybody else, that's his privilege. A person has a right to make up his own mind about his own life." On segregation Boone, a Tennesseean, said: "It sickens me."

SEAN O'CASEY'S DAUGHTER Shivaun, 18, is touring the U.S. in a rickety old bus with the Dublin Players. When last heard from they were giving **Juno and the Paycock** in Madison, Wis., and Shivaun played the Sewing Machine Girl. When reporters asked Miss O'Casey what she thought of her father, she said: "Why, he's wonderful." The tour marks the younger O'Casey's debut . . . Frances Farmer, long absent, will appear on CBS-TV's **Playhouse 90** production of "Reunion," Jan. 2 (9:30-11 p.m., EST.) . . . Marian Anderson's tour of Southeast Asia under State Dept. auspices will be the subject of the CBS program **See It Now** on Monday, Dec. 30 (10-11 p.m. EST.) It is billed as "The Lady from Philadelphia: Through Asia with Marian Anderson."

LEADING MUSICIANS IN BUENOS AIRES pooled their talents recently for a peace concert to rally support for banning nuclear weapons as proposed in a petition sponsored by British pacifist philosopher Bertrand Russell. The audience was asked to refrain from applause at the end of one number, a hymn, which, it was explained from the stage, called for blessings on "all those who, like modern Don Quixotes, struggle for the banning of atomic weapons. We believe that all weapons and war itself should be banned."

FROM A PRESS RELEASE SUMMARY of the CBS Radio soap-opera **This Is Nora Drake**: "An armed robber forces Lorraine Brown to surrender the psychiatrist's taped recording of her session under the influence of truth serum, in which her innocence in the Lee homicide case is established" . . . **Reuters** news service reports that British parents' groups feel that TV "is ruining their children's' eyesight, slowing their speech and turning them into neurotic idiots." Speech therapist E.P. Paulett said: "The need for speech stimulation is sometimes found in children from homes where there is a ritual of nightly mute fixation as the TV-addicted family sits entranced before the idiot's lantern." . . . Half of Britain's nightly TV shows for children are imported from the U.S.

Save Money! Buy Guardian Vitamins. See P. 12

GUARDIAN HOLIDAY BAZAAR

Children's Books

FOR AGES 3-7

'ROUND THE CLOCK BOOK. Teaches children how to tell time with full color pictures and happy rhymes. Includes a big clock with red, plastic movable hands and numbers $1

COLOR-ME-AGAIN ANIMAL BOOK, designed by Frank Angelini. A gay book in the shape of an elephant. Full color pictures to color and wipe off. Picture titles in larger type. Pure color crayons attached $1

FOR AGES 6-10

THANK YOU, MR. SUN by Hyman Ruchlis, illustrated by Alice Hirsh. Generously illustrated, the book teaches the impact of the sun on every aspect of life. The child will get an initial understanding of the meaning of energy and the relationship of the sciences of chemistry, physics and biology $1

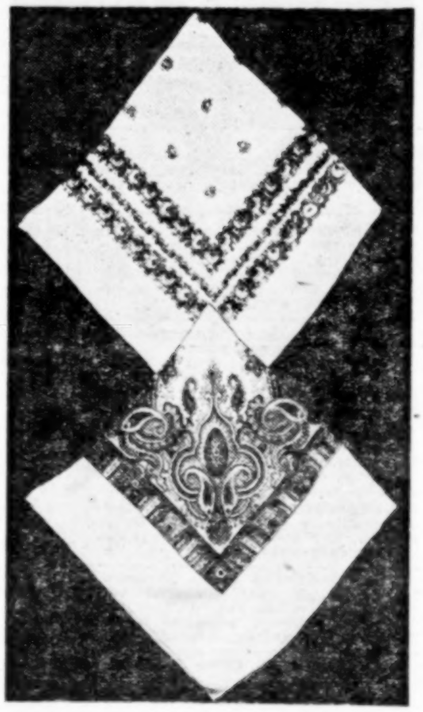
WHAT MAKES ME TICK? by Hyman Ruchlis; illustrated by Alice Hirsh. How people and cars work. The similarities and differences between a human body and an automobile are developed in conversation between Jimmy and the Car $1

FOR AGES 8-12

THE SECRET OF COOKIES, CANDIES and CAKES by Helen Jill Fletcher; illustrated by Margaret Zimmerman. Good, gay and simple recipes for the young pastry chef. How to make cookies, decorate cakes, make lollipops and many other fancy sweets for parties. Step-by-step illustrations, color on every page, large easy-to-read type. $2.50

FOR ALL AGES

PICTURE GUIDE TO BEGINNER'S CHESS by Al Horowitz, editor of the Chess Review and three times U.S. Open Champion. How to play chess, shown step-by-step with photographs and diagrams. Teaches all the beginner needs to know plus the guiding principles that will instill confidence. A solid foundation for any beginner of any age $2.95



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the SPECTATOR

Foreverness

IN THIS POST-SPUTNIK ERA of crash programs for science and depth-charges into education, it is comforting to see that our society of brand names has not been set off-base. Let the scientists and their fellow-traveler poets speculate about what the world of tomorrow may bring. We know what it's going to be like. We have always seen the shape of the future: it is the same as today and yesterday, and by Vanguard salesmanship it works. All we need to do is extend things a bit; reach out a helping hand to the kiddies. After all, Foreverness wants Everybody's business.

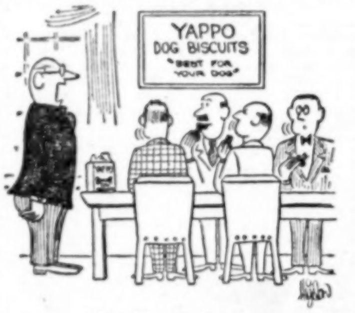
It is reassuring to know that our children are going to live just as better-than-ever as we do; the same way of life, only samer and sooner. It makes for a Foreverness that we love to touch; the kind of infinity that can be felt real good, like a finite infinity should.

Today baby heads the table, as befitting her position since she has become recognized as the most important member of the family of brandland. For well-documented polls have proven that she is likely to outlast, and therefore outbuy, her elders no matter what advances are made in geriatrics.

Over the years, we have been made aware that children are the same as grown-ups, only shorter. It was awkward for mass marketing techniques to have to adjust to this size differential. Could we solve the problem? Of course we could. The answer was as brilliant in its simplicity as the question. What size status would be the right size for Junior? JUNIOR SIZE.

So the big buy came to small-fryville. The brain brands turned out junior-sized lotions and hair tonics and creams—everything required to make up a social integration kiddies' kit. Today, no child has to grow another inch. The youngest among us is comformable, consumerable. If baby can say Ma-ma and Da-da, he can certainly pronounce Buy-buy. And there's been enough education for the future with candy lipsticks and chocolate cigars; with the Little Miss Revlon Doll dressed in high-heeled shoes, earrings, and her own miniature Formfit bra and girdle.

Among the pioneers in this reality crusade for children was Proctor and Gamble, which also gave us our new Secretary of Defense. They introduced Lilt Party Curl, "a children's home permanent for girls two through twelve." It really works, it really curls the hair. And it's all ours, a permanent children's addition to Foreverness. What parent could be so unloving as to unbuy it?



Advertising Requirements, Chicago

"Well, anyone come up with an idea yet?"

But, prepare tomorrow's children for yesterday's improved improvements. There's a **new Lilt in Suzy's life,** with **a new squeeze-bottle to give you squeeze-comb ease and end messy dip-dabs for you.** With this revolutionary shape of the plastic container, **hair is so thoroughly saturated, soft curls last even a year!**

COMPETITION FOR THE KIDDY-CURL CORNER is pushing hard. New Lilt comes along with squeeze-combability? Richard Hudnut's New Quick For Children offers to save six hours' drying time!

When you get to their copy, you realize how naive you were when you read the first children's home permanent ad. You counted on curling up Suzy one, two, three, and presto—there she'd be: the all-adjusted, all-integrated American little lady, all set to go and get herself invited to a bubble-gum ball.

Richard Hudnut is not casting any direct aspersions, but a foreboding poem makes you ponder. It is called **Mother!**

> Like every other **sensible** girl,
> **of course,** I'd like my hair to curl . . .
> But please don't make me go to bed
> With stiff old curlers in my poor wet head.
> And please don't make me stay inside
> for 6 long hours while my curls are dried.
> All I need to do the trick
> is Richard Hudnut's Children's Quick!

This prospect of what happens to your little darling when you buy another company's brand is frightening indeed. Thank heavens you found out about New Children's Quick in the nick of time. For good old family Doctor Hudnut brings you peace of mind. **Lanolized wave lotion and end papers give soft, shiny curls—safely.**

It is about time for Lilt to announce a new new advance in durability, plus a built-in safety device. Surely they're not going to surrender the field, when they can afford a full-page for every single-column spread of Hudnut's. Let Lilt not despair; by their budget appropriation, they are destined to lead our children into the wave of the future. With our continued faith in Foreverness, they will surely do it to us safely-er and more permanent-er.

—Eve Merriam

Patronize Guardian Advertisers